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TUNING IN

Setting the scene for music tourism

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Setting the scene

At the end of the afternoon, tired but content with the impressions and observations of the day, I sat down on the terrace in front of a small café. The sun was shining abundantly, putting smiles on the faces of people walking by. I ordered a cup of tea to go along with the house special, which swiftly appeared on the table: Bach Torte. Looking up from the generous piece of mocha flavoured cake, across the street I saw a giant statue of the legendary composer, placed next to a church of impressive proportions. I found myself in Leipzig, Germany, a city known for its classical music heritage. Bach is its most well-known (former) inhabitant, having lived in the city for many years and composing his most famous works for the boys' choir of the Thomaskirche, the church that he is buried in and that I was currently looking at.

Walking around the statue and entering the church that afternoon, however, was not the kind of tourist you would expect taking an interest in Bach. Sipping my tea, I saw a young lady donning an intricate corset, toting a delicate lace umbrella. A bit further on, a group of men wearing long coats and heavy boots laughed about an apparent joke, while a group of boys and girls with neon dreadlocks and expressive makeup had started taking selfies with the Bach statue. The colour of choice uniting the outfits of all these tourists? Black.

Although not a typical classical music audience, the presence of these extravagantly dressed people in Leipzig was not all together surprising: one weekend per year, at Whitsun to be precise, Leipzig is home to one of the largest Goth festivals in the world, the Wave Gotik Treffen. During this weekend, the city is taken over by tens of thousands of Goth fans from all over the world who attend concerts, buy clothes and accessories at special fairs and take part in organized events such as the Victorian Picnic and a special tour of the city cemetery. While the Goth music lovers visit the city for the festival, fellow Goths, other tourists and locals alike feast their eyes on the many eye-catching outfits proudly paraded around.

As the example of Leipzig shows, music induces travel in many ways, involving widely different genres of music that sometimes coexist in the same city, attracting visitors of all ages and backgrounds. It is peculiar that mere vibrating air can accomplish tourism: 'In some respects this is remarkable since music is, strictly speaking, invisible, and often ephemeral, and the essence of tourism – 'the tourist gaze' – has only the most tenuous connection with music' (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 13). If music is hard to pin down geographically due to its intangibility, how do

tourists know where to travel? Despite the abstract nature of music, examples such as Leipzig show that connections between music and place can be established and can become an integral part of a location's attraction for tourists.

Moreover, music tourism seems to be a phenomenon on the rise. Places such as Graceland and Liverpool have become popular destinations recognized for their popular music heritage, while music festivals such as Glastonbury in the UK, Coachella in the USA and Sziget in Hungary attract over 100,000 music lovers annually. Recognizing the potential pull of music, city and region marketers increasingly include music in their strategies.

In these various guises, music tourism raises both practical questions relating to tourism management and marketing, as well as more profound questions about contemporary culture, involving for instance the festivalization of culture (Bennett, Taylor & Woodward, 2014) and the meaning of intangible heritage (Brandellero & Janssen, 2013).

It is in this context that this chapter explores contemporary music tourism, first of all through tracing the particular connections between music and place that induce tourism. Second, we track the varied research disciplines engaging with the phenomenon. A growing amount of research is dedicated to exploring music and travel, from perspectives as wide ranging as tourism management, cultural geography and music sociology. In this chapter, the different branches of this research theme are discussed, while common issues and interests are identified. Last but not least, we point out the roads less travelled in current research on the topic, setting a research agenda for the years to come.

Disciplinary and theoretical underpinnings: understanding the connections between music and place

Because of its abstract nature, music differs from other art forms in the way it evokes ideas of place. Whereas a movie can show a clear and recognizable image of a particular place, music can be linked to place only indirectly. These linkages between music and place are what we call 'detours' (Bolderman, 2017): categories of associations between music and place that each in their own way are capable of inducing tourism. Four of these detours can be distinguished.

First of all, music can be connected to place through instrumentation or musical structure. The bagpipes signal the Highlands of Scotland like no other instrument, while the tango is associated with Argentina through its musical form and its sounds. This type of connection often revolves around myths of origin, in which music is seen as a natural local resource. Made from local materials, musical instruments especially contribute to the idea that music embodies the 'soul' of a landscape (Kaul, 2014).

Second, music can be connected to place through non-sonic aspects of music. As in the case of the enormously popular Psy song Gangnam Style, a song title, lyrics or video can put a city on the map. Abbey Road is as famous for its iconic crossing as much as for its recording studio. Tourists often recreate famous pictures and album covers, by posing on site in exactly the same way as their idol in the picture. This leads Podoshen (2013) to conclude that reenactment is a central element of music tourism activity, although it is more likely that recreating famous images occurs when this particular kind of music–place connection is present; it is not necessarily a central element to other kinds of music tourism.

A third category is formed through the biography of the composer or artist. Musical pilgrimages often belong in this category of place connections, such as the Elvis aficionado's in Graceland (Drummond, 2011), Queen fans visiting Montreux, trips to Macclesfield by Joy Division fans (Otter, 2013), and Beatlemaniacs visiting Strawberry Fields in New York (Kruse, 2003). Museums dedicated to artists or composers play into this kind of music tourism as well.

The Wagner Museum for instance, in Villa Wahnfried, Bayreuth, used to be the family home of the Wagner household.

Finally, specific places can become associated with music because they are the stage of its production, distribution or consumption. Famous recording studios such as the Hansa studios in Berlin belong to this category, as do famous venues such as Carnegie Hall. Record stores can also attract tourists (Bennett, 2002), for example to browse the racks for records they cannot find at home or online. Music festivals such as Glastonbury fit into this category as well, attracting perhaps the biggest crowds out of all the instances of music tourism mentioned.

Taken together, these four connections account for the varied forms of music tourism in practice. Musical places are also often a combination of these four connections, as is the case in for example music scenes. Moreover, research among music tourists in Europe suggests that the more types of detour are present in one place, the more successful that place will be as a music tourism location (Bolderman, 2017). This is one of the reasons why, for example, Hamburg is not successful in attracting Beatles tourism (Fremaux & Fremaux, 2013), while Liverpool is. The Beatles represent Merseybeat, the specific sound of the city they were from. The city features in their songs and in the pictures of the band circulating, and it is also where an infrastructure is present with recurring events such as the yearly Beatles week.

Combining music, place and travel: music tourism as a field of study

The interrelations between music and place have been on the scientific agenda for quite some time. Already in the late nineteenth century, ethnomusicological research has explored the role of music in geographically localized cultures. Focusing initially on the music of people in non-Western parts of the world, ethnomusicologists have increasingly included music in Western societies to their field of research. This is exemplified in the work of Steven Feld, who analyzes the ways different people across the globe experience and create a 'sense of place' through sound and through their unique musical cultures (for example in Feld & Basso, 1996). Although not directly dealing with music tourism, the idea of a musical sense of place and how this is experienced and differs across cultures chimes in with more recent work on how music appears in (embodied) touristic experiences of place (Bolderman & Reijnders, 2016; Saldanha, 2002).

With the spatial turn in the humanities and social sciences in the early 1990s, other disciplines have also started to pay attention to the relation between music and place. From a cultural geography perspective, music is studied for its role in the production and consumption of place. The early efforts focused on charting the geographical origins of music styles and analyzing lyrics for their representation of existing geographies. The criticism of Kong (1995) was one of the catalysts in cultural geographical research on music and place to start including the social and political contexts in which music is produced and consumed. This line of research has fruitfully continued, with work on the role of music in the social construction of space and place (Leyshon, Matless & Revill, 1998), attention for the importance of processes of consumption and distribution in light of globalization (Connell & Gibson, 2003) and the role of music in the construction of spatial identities (Krims, 2007).

A specific attention for music tourism as such coincides with the development of new research disciplines: popular music studies and tourist studies. The role and meaning of place in popular music genres has been approached predominantly from the perspective of scenes (Straw, 1991), neotribes (Bennett, 2004), or musicscapes (Cohen, 2014; Hesmondhalgh, 2005), inspired by Appadurai's work on mediascapes (1990). In the context of music scenes, tourists are a logical consequence of the popularity of the scene, an effect of its maturity. Despite the sociological underpinnings of this type of research, less attention is paid to the music tourist in

the sense of their particular wants and needs and demographical background. There is also less attention to theory building in a comparative perspective, as this research is more focused on the theorizing of music scenes.

Finally, in the field of tourism studies, attention at the outset was paid mainly to music tourism from a management perspective, looking at the ways audiences could be managed during festivals and in popular destinations, and how specific sites and cities could become attractive sites for music pilgrimage (Henke, 2005). In the case of pilgrimage this research involved primarily eye-catching Anglo-Saxon examples of music tourism, such as Graceland and the Beatles. Next to management, cultural tourism-oriented research offers inroads into music tourism examples, taking up ethnomusicological topics from a different perspective. The politics of cultural tourism come into play, music being a manner in which boundaries between locals and tourists are created and perpetuated (Saldanha, 2002).

Having written the first full-length study dedicated to music tourism, Connell and Gibson (2003) have greatly contributed to putting music tourism on the map as a research topic in its own right. A central concern in their work is how music is embedded in certain places, while moving across geographical locations at the same time. In their book on music and travel, *On the Road* (Gibson & Connell, 2005), they offer many examples of music tourism from around the world, and discuss some central debates in music tourism pertaining to issues of authenticity, pilgrimage and nostalgia.

In relation to issues of authenticity, Connell and Gibson point out the central role authenticity plays in both tourism and music: the ways authenticity functions as denoting a core quality or a sense of originality – for example perceived as being true to the genre in music or the home of distinct cultures in tourism. Combined, this explains the prominence in music tourism on places known as 'authentic' sites of musical creativity (Gibson & Connell, 2007).

Through this focus on roots, music tourism is often related to heritage and memory. This leads Connell and Gibson to conclude that music tourism is primarily a form of nostalgia consumption: 'music tourism, like other elements of cultural tourism, might be thought simply to link nostalgia with some concern for heritage and authenticity' (Gibson & Connell, 2005, p. 15). Both the music industry and the tourism industry feed into the growing attention for nostalgia, positioning the commodification of culture as a central concern when dealing with music tourism.

Based on new research into nostalgia and its role in (Western) culture, in recent analyzes this focus on the nostalgia industry has been reframed, indicating new lines of research to be taken up.

The politics of music heritage

More than ten years on from Connell and Gibson, what characterizes the recent work on music tourism is its interdisciplinary nature. For instance, one of the most interesting strands of current research combines work from cultural geography and music sociology, studying the relationship between music and place as a mutually influential process transforming the postmodern metropolis. A central concern is the analysis of the tension between authenticity and commodification in times of rapid globalization. This research is frequently situated within a post-industrial context of urban regeneration and heritage politics, nuancing and refining arguments set forth by Connell and Gibson (Cohen, 2007; Cohen, Knifton, Leonard & Roberts, 2015; Lashua, Spracklen & Long, 2014; Roberts, 2014).

This tension is very much present in the popularity of popular music icons in city marketing (Cohen, 2007; Henke, 2005). As globalization has made the seemingly natural connection of music to particular regional cultures more diffuse, other places have become known for their

'sound' – a localized, musical atmosphere – that can be a hybrid of musical styles from all over the world. For example, Cohen (2007) has described how Liverpool's Merseybeat is an amalgam of styles not necessarily local to the region, including American rock and roll and Irish traditional music. Wagg, Spracklen and Lashua (2014) have described how Elvis has a cherished place in the culture of the Australian outback.

When a particular local 'sound' is sold as unique heritage of a city, a problem arises when all cities become tourist hotspots with similar ways of selling that popular music heritage: what happens when different cities claim globalized popular music as localized heritage? (Cohen, 2007). The efforts of the city of Hamburg to attract Beatles tourists is a case in point (Fremaux & Fremaux, 2013).

Another question that is put forward relates to exactly whose heritage is presented on site, and which voices are heard (Brandellero, Janssen, Cohen & Roberts, 2014). For example, many Beatles fans visit Penny Lane because of its reference to the song. In 2006, a debate ignited about the name of the street. James Penny, the person the lane was originally named after, was a slave trader, and therefore Liverpool councillor Barbara Mace developed a proposal to change the name of Penny Lane and six other streets in the area. After much protest, however, the plan was not put into effect.

Next to the politics of heritage, the commodification of music and tourism exposes another tension running through music tourism research: the question of its economic viability. As the numbers of tourists seem to be drawn primarily to live music events, some authors argue that music tourism is only sustainable when involving actual music (Lashua et al., 2014; Roberts, 2014), limiting the scope of inquiry to what can be called 'concert tourism'. This potentially shifts the focus of research from heritage-based tourism to, for example, music festivals and concert related travel.

These developments lead to the question of how the globalization of popular music influences and changes the relationship between (popular) music, place and locally grounded identities (Cohen, 2007; Wagg et al., 2014). Driven by the 'accelerating pace of globalization' (Cohen, 2007), music tourism brings questions of this complex relation between music and place to a confrontation. It is in this theme that the contribution of music tourism to the broader study of popular culture tourism can be found.

Implications for popular culture tourism: exposing a double bias

If there is one thing that music tourism shows, it is that popular culture attracts audiences from different ages, and its associated tourism and travel is also diverse in the profile of tourists attracted. This is relevant for popular culture tourism research more broadly, as popular culture in tourism practice is still frequently seen as a providence of the young.

To give one example: the ABBA walking tour in Stockholm is designed to attract tourists in their twenties and thirties. In reality, the tour attracts parents of around 40 years old and their tween children. This is because the parents were ABBA fans in their youth, and their children know ABBA from the *MAMMA MIA!* musical and movie (Bolderman & Reijnders, 2016). Presupposing a link between popular culture tourism and youthful age is a bias refuted by a look at music tourism examples.

Another contribution music tourism research has to offer, is a challenge to the visual bias that remains present in much popular culture research. Looking into music tourism and its peculiarities offers a way to analyze the affordances of other senses than the visual, in this instance sound. As the prominence of the tourist gaze continues to be challenged in tourism research (Chronis, 2015; Edensor & Falconer, 2011; Trandberg Jensen, Scarles & Cohen, 2015; Waitt & Duffy, 2009), it is perhaps time for popular culture tourism research to include its benefits.

One topic that might prove fruitful in this regard is to pay attention to the role of soundtracks in popular culture tourism. Whereas popular culture tourism research has focused primarily on the visual aspects of tv and film tourism, exploring comparisons between the location and print screens among other aspects, the role and meaning of the film or tv soundtrack remains rather unexamined. Roesch (2009), for example, describes the experience a *Star Wars* fan has in the Tunisian desert, listening to the soundtrack while gazing into the distance. The intensity of this experience is attributed to the fan's level of fandom, but the role of listening to the soundtrack remains out of focus.

Towards a research agenda for music tourism

Although music tourism remains one of the lesser-researched forms of popular culture tourism, the field is rapidly expanding and shows some interesting future directions for inquiry. This involves expanding both its empirical and theoretical boundaries.

Empirically, the scope of research could be evaluated through the kind of cases explored and by paying more attention to the music tourist. First of all, the focus has been predominantly on Anglo-Saxon, eye-catching examples involving popular music from the 1960s, casting the music tourist as so called 'snowbirds' and baby boomers who seek to re-live their youth and the emotions that this music evokes (Gibson & Connell, 2005, p. 264). In practice though, as we have seen in this chapter, music tourism consists of a variety of types of travel, attracting an even more varied range of audiences. Research is now diversifying to include different examples, such as 'blackpacking' (travel to Scandinavian destinations related to death metal, Podoshen 2013), and techno-tourism (Garcia, 2016). An empirical shift could mean moving beyond the prevailing focus on popular music, as for instance classical music is somewhat of a blind spot in current research.

Second, future empirical research has a lot to gain by focusing on the socio-cultural background of the music tourist, as well as his or her motivations and experiences on the spot. This will allow for an exploration of yet unknown differences in gender, class, ethnicity and age in the experiences of music tourists. A promising area to contribute to empirical music tourism research in this respect is the budding field of fan studies, which puts the fan-tourist firmly in the limelight.

An example of the possible contributions of a fan studies perspective is the analysis of fan travel as pilgrimage. In relation to music related travel, an important strand in music tourism research from the outset has been the focus on pilgrimage. Where research from a religion studies perspective favours musical pilgrimage as a modern form of secular pilgrimage (Margry, 2008), this view is challenged in fan studies, pointing out the analogies to pilgrimage are structural rather than functional (Whyton, 2014). Where traditional pilgrimage has at its core a belief in an all-encompassing story that somehow offers a shared cultural narrative representing an absolute truth, to fans the similarities to pilgrimage are of a more structural nature, as it is a deeply personal endeavour that represents personal truth.

Broadening the empirical horizon of music tourism research through including different kinds of music tourism cases and focusing more on the music tourist requires the further development of music tourism theory. This could be brought a step further by conducting more comparative research. The detours discussed in this chapter, for example, provide a categorization that could start of a theoretical debate concerning the ways music tourism contributes to connecting to places. This discussion is not only theoretically relevant, but also feeds back into the role of globalization: it concerns the way music tourism contributes to a sense of belonging.

If globalization is indeed such an important part of music tourism as a phenomenon, surely the borders of its research territory should likewise be globally expanded. As current studies are concerned primarily with Western examples of music tourism, a logical and also necessary next step is to involve non-Western regions and cities in comparative research. As already alluded to in the work by Krüger and Trandafoiu (2014), music tourism research is becoming relevant from the perspective of migration: how does music contribute to feelings of belonging, and a sense of (temporarily) feeling at home in different places?

Combining these empirical and theoretical new horizons, the different cultural contexts of this expanded empirical arena offer a critical perspective on current music tourism research. This leads us to conclude that there is a lot to gain from bringing music tourism research onto a global stage.

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